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STUDIES IN THE FORNALDARSQUR NORÐRLANDA

[Continued]

I. THE HRÓMUNDAR SAGA GRIPSSONAR

4. *The Scandinavian ballads on Ramunder*.—That the Swedish ballad about Ramunder was related to the Hrómundar saga had already been recognized by Björner.¹ This opinion, called in question by Müller,² was confirmed beyond a doubt by the publication of the Norwegian version³ and by Grundtvig's publication of all the Danish versions.⁴ Of this ballad there exist in all four main versions: 2 Danish (Grundtvig's 27 and 28 which we may call A and B, respectively), 1 Norwegian (Landstad's 16=C), and 1 Swedish⁵ (=D). A is preserved in Karen Brahe's folio-manuscript from 1550-60 (=A1), in Rentzel's manuscript from 1560-80, varying slightly from the preceding (=A2), and in Vedel's printed collection from 1591 (=A3), which is apparently based upon A2 and may be neglected. B is known only from Anna Basse's manuscript from the beginning of the seventeenth century; C was taken from the oral rendition of Olaf Glosimot in Siljord, Telemarken, evidently in 1848 (cf. Forord); while D in the form printed by Arwidsson is from MS 122 in Bergshammar's collection. This volume, in a hand from the middle of the eighteenth century according to Arwidsson (p. viii), contains "Kämpavisor" in his opinion largely copied from printed originals.⁶ This last version was through printed broadsides, etc., widely known, not only in Sweden, where it is mentioned by Björner as early as 1737, but also in Denmark, where printed broadsides of it from 1710 and later years are preserved, through the medium of which it also became known in Norway. There has been, so far as I know, no serious attempt critically to determine the relationships of these four versions to each other and to the older Icelandic material. Such an attempt must obviously set out from the

¹ *Nordiska Kämpadater*, 1737, note to Hrómundar saga, p. 19.

² *Saga-bibliothek*, II, 550, 1818.

³ Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser*, No. 16; I, 189 ff., 1853.

⁴ *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Nos. 27, 28; I, 358 ff., 1853.

⁵ Arwidsson, *Svenska Fornsånger*, No. 12; I, 114 ff., 1834.

⁶ The last number in this MS bears the date: November 20, 1700.

notes offered by Grundtvig in his introductions and critical apparatus to Nos. 27 and 28.¹

In the first place the ballads may at the outset be divided into two groups: of the first group A (*Rígen Rambolt og Aller hin stærke*) is the sole representative; B, C, and D belong together. The clearest evidence of this relationship is to be found in the episode of the making of the hero's clothing, which in A follows the contest with Aller, but in the other versions forms the beginning of the ballad. Now in the Icelandic rímur (*Griplur*) the beloved of Hrómund (Svanhvít) is not introduced at all until after the contest with Dráinn (*Griplur*, IV, 8 ff.), and it may then be affirmed as certain that the episode or episodes of the Icelandic source which have given rise to this characteristic episode of the ballads were not at the beginning; i.e., that the ballad A corresponds here more closely with the Icelandic original and in so far represents more faithfully the older form of the Scandinavian ballad, while B, C, and D collectively represent a younger revision, in which the cutting of the clothing has assumed greater importance and been transferred to the beginning. If this conclusion from the contents of the ballad admitted of any doubt, this is entirely dispelled by a stylistic point of a striking and important nature. All records of A show, though the refrain of 1 differs from that of 2 and 3, at any rate a uniform refrain following all the stanzas, as is the almost invariable usage of the older Scandinavian ballad. B, C, and D agree in showing an innovation, a refrain that changes from stanza to stanza. This latter fact has not escaped the notice of Steenstrup, to whose treatment of the whole subject in his book on the Danish folksongs² I can refer. In this particular case he has unfortunately failed to note the relationship of A to the other group, though he rightly questions the age of the version represented by B. As a matter of fact the case exactly confirms the evidence of the other relatively few cases of this phenomenon found by him, that the version with the changing refrain is in all cases a younger one. Before following out this point of separation and seeking other confirmatory considerations I give in the following table a summary of the contents of the four ballads, showing their agreement and disagreement.

¹ Cf. in addition Vol. II, 654, Vol. III, 800 f., Vol. IV, 763 f.

² *Vore Folkeviser fra Middelalderen*, 81 ff., 1891.

A1	B	C	D
1-2.* The daughter of the king in "<i>Ópsaall</i>" is wise and gives instruction. Many die on her account but contrary to her will. 3-4.* Not far away dwells a prince by name "<i>Adell-gröfue</i>." He has seven sons, the youngest of whom, "<i>Rambolt</i>," insists upon riding to the king's court to receive instruction of the princess. 5.* Taking a steel rod upon his shoulder, R. sets out. 6*-10. The king sees war-ships approaching and recognizes that "<i>Allerhynd sterke</i>" is coming to land. The latter disembarks and demands the hand of the king's daughter. 11-12. The king proposes a contest at "<i>Widdriks wold</i>." The challenge accepted. 13. R. prepares his steel club for action. Aller leaps into the king's boat. 14. The king becomes pale with fright. 15-16. R. strikes down A., who springs then into a little boat and comes to land.	1. The king's daughter knows everything in world, present and future. 8. The king's men are on ship-board. 9. "<i>Ranild</i>" sees man clad in iron mail rowing toward them. 10. Ranild reproves the steersman for steering like a "crazy man" (cf. A1, 17). 11. R. kills 15 warriors and casts them overboard.	1-2. A peasant lives not far away, called "<i>Stein</i>"; he has 12 sons; "<i>Rámund</i>" surpasses all the others. Besides R. are mentioned "<i>Hömlung</i>" ("<i>Hömlé</i>") and "<i>Kóre</i>," as serving at the king's court. 9-10. A troll, by name "<i>Hölgi Kvass</i>," living in mountain to north, demands hand of king's daughter. Rámund defies him. 11-12. Hölgi Kvass, enraged, challenges R. to a contest. 13. All the courtiers equip themselves. R. prepares his club. 14. Hölgi Kvass strikes at king's banner. All are much frightened. 15. R. kills H. K. with his club.	5. "<i>Ramunder</i>" starts with 7 ships for the land of the giants. 6. R. sees 7 giants on strand. Mutual defiance. 7. With his sword, "<i>Dymlingen dyra</i>," R. kills all 7.

* Stanzas 1-6 are lacking in A2.

A1	B	C	D
17. The king sees from his ship a "crazy man" come sailing toward him.	12. A "little warrior" requests R. to stop while he balls out the blood.	16. R. sees " <i>Trúg-in Úblið, Hölgis svein</i> " come rowing over fjord in iron boat.	
	13-14. The "little warrior" says that his uncle, King " <i>Saze</i> ," had 3 sons, " <i>Adam</i> ," <i>Koer</i> , and <i>Ranild</i> ."	17. T.Ú. explains that he is looking for his uncle, <i>Hölg, Kvass</i> . R. declares himself as his "relative."	
	15. Upon learning that R. is identical with the last, he requests him to follow him to " <i>Thrud's</i> " island.		
18. The latter explains that he is not crazy, but that a "dragon" has robbed him of his gold.	16. The latter person had robbed him of gold, horse, and sword.		
19. The king asks to be directed to the dragon's land.	17-18. The "warrior" demands that R. accompany him to Thrud's island, otherwise he threatens to take his life.		
20. He is informed that wind and waves make it impossible to reach the place.			
21. He proposes making a bridge of his boats (or of trees, A2).			
22. The king promises R., on condition of his overcoming the dragon, the sword " <i>Kaalle-brant</i> " and all the gold stored away by the dragon.			
23. The hero threatens* [Aller] with his steel rod and demands the latter's sword.	19-20. " <i>Thrude aff Blide</i> " is on the lookout: he sees R. coming and in his anger tears up an oak tree by roots and casts it in front of ship.	18-19. R. accompanies T. Ú. to mountains, where he is greeted by all the little trolls (<i>Småtrolli</i>).	8. R. sees big giant standing, 50 ells broad and 100 tall,
	21. R. steers straight through the oak, breaking it in pieces.		and defies him.

* A1 is here considerably corrupted and A2 shows better the order of events. The latter (stanza 17) has, instead of "*Aller*," "*bjerget*," which is undoubtedly correct. The words are of course addressed to the dragon, not to Aller.

A1	B	C	D
24. The latter says his sword is in the mountain and refuses to give it up as long as he is alive. 25-26.* They fight three days; on third "Aller" is obliged to give way before R. R. strikes a hole in the rock (cf. A2, 17 and note to A1, 23).	22. R. ascends the mountain and secures sword. 23. "Thrude aff Blide" attacks him with steel rod.		9. The giant begs for his life and offers gold and wine.
27. R. fights three days with the dragon, killing him finally.	24-25. R. kills his adversary and throws remains into sound. 26. R. returns to strand and finds all the war-ships gone. 27. He blows in his horn so that it bursts. 28. His boat hears the sound, breaks its 9 anchor-ropes and returns to him. 29. He sails away with the gold.	20-21. R. kills T. Ú. and all the small trolls with sword,	10-12. The battle. R. tears out giant's beard by roots. They trample mountain into mud. Finally R. cuts off his adversary's head. 13-14. R. goes into mountain and kills all the small trolls.
28. He takes as much gold as he can carry and returns to "Widriks wold," where he hears news. (A2, 21.† The king of "Opsal" is defeated [or slain? "slagen," cf. A3] and "Rimbolt's" 6 brothers taken prisoners.)		finds gold and shoves off boat into fjord.	15-16. R. loads ships with gold and jewels and sails to "keysarens lande."

* Stanzas 25 and 26 are lacking in A2, are obviously superfluous and appear to have been introduced in an attempt to obviate the confusion caused by the introduction of Aller into stanza 23.

† This stanza, so necessary to the context, is lost in A1.

A1	B	C	D
29-30. R. becomes exceedingly angry, takes the sword, " <i>Kallebrand</i> ," and after 3 days' fight kills Aller.			
31. The courtiers are playing ball. They jeer at R. because of his wretched clothing.	2. R. takes part fearlessly in tournament at court.	3. R. goes out where the courtiers are playing games and is laughed at because of his scanty clothing.	17-18. R. disembarks and goes where courtiers are playing ball and " <i>gulltärning</i> ." All are frightened.
	3. R. complains to his mother of scornful treatment of courtiers and asks her for clothing.	4. R. goes in to his foster-mother and asks her to cut him clothes.	1. R. has poor clothing.
	4. She produces a " <i>blorgarns weff</i> " and sends him to the "young maid" to have her make him clothing.	5-6. She prepares him a fabric woven of nettles (" <i>varpid utaf nosle-ris</i> ") and willow-withes (" <i>vefta 'ta vidjeren små</i> ").	The queen gives him new clothing of " <i>bast och blaggarne grofva</i> ";
32. The hero sends the princess " <i>hampe-wøff</i> " and requests her to make him clothes of it.	5. R. proffers his request.	7. He goes to king's daughter and asks her to cut him clothing.	R. is dissatisfied.
33-34.* The princess laughs and remarks that it is not fitting for him, as he is destined to marry a princess.	6. The "maid" informs him that he does not know what fate is in store for him.		
35-36. She orders for him " <i>sykke och syndall</i> " and " <i>thett skaarlagen rød</i> ," which are better suited for him.	7. She takes a piece of " <i>iffuist</i> " and cuts him clothes from it and bids him take service at her father's court.	8. She cuts him clothing of silk.	2. The princess (" <i>fröken</i> ") gives him new clothes " <i>af silke, och sammete fina</i> ." R. is better satisfied.
			3-4. R. goes to tailors to have clothes cut: 50 ells are required for breeches and 15 for suspenders, and then they are tight.
37-38.† The hero enters and asks princess for her hand.			
39.† She declares her willingness and fers him to her father.			
40-41.† R. goes to king and asks hand of his daughter.	30. The king and queen are waiting and wondering how they shall share the gold brought by R.		
42.† The king is agreeable, provided he has her consent.	R. remarks in refrain that they won't share it.		19-25. " <i>Keysaren</i> " looks out of the window and asks who this immense warrior is. R. replies defiantly and with sword, " <i>Dymlingen dyra</i> ," cuts off emperor's head so that it flies 15 Spanish miles.
43.† The maiden declares that their betrothal was fated before her lover was born.			
44-45.† The two are married.			

* These stanzas are lacking in A2.

† Stanzas 37-43 are lacking in A2.

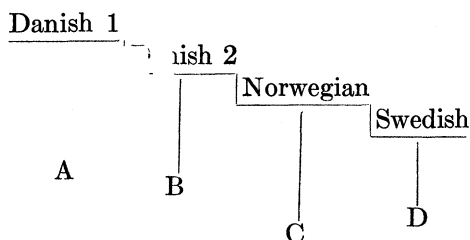
‡ A2 has only one stanza for these two.

The episodes in A follow then in this order: (1) the conflict with Aller hin stærke, (2) the conflict with the dragon and securing of sword and gold, (3) continuation of the conflict with Aller, (4) the making of R's clothing, (5) the marriage with the princess. Now if comparison be made with the Icelandic rímur, it will be noted that these episodes correspond in the same order with the following: (1) the conflict with Hrǫngviðr, (2) the conflict with Dráinn and the securing of gold and sword from his mound, (3) the conflict with Helgi enn frækni, Hrǫngvið's brother, (4) the sewing of Hrómund's wound and his convalescence, (5) the marriage with Svanhvít. In the rímur the conflict of 1 is on the sea, that of 3 on land, or rather on the ice of Lake Venern. That the two brothers have been united in the ballad in the person of Aller is apparent enough from the inconsistency in the double appearance of this personage and in the description of the fighting as of a mixed nature, partly at sea and partly on land with abrupt and unexplained transitions.¹ Now if we take B (*Ungen Ranild*) as representative of the second group, the episode of the making of clothes has been transferred to the beginning; then follows the sea-fight, next the trip to Thrud's island with the slaying of this monster and the securing of sword and gold, and finally the reception by the king and queen, leaving the marriage with the princess to be inferred. That is, the episodes 1-5 of A occur in B in the order 4, 1, 2; 3 has disappeared altogether and 5 may be inferred or not, as one prefers. This all confirms our thesis, that A is the more original form of the ballad, or at least gives us a more accurate idea of the contents of the original, which were essentially those of some of the main episodes of the *Griplur*.

Before comparing the group B C D further with A it may be desirable to institute a comparison among these and establish what their original contained. Of the three episodes referred to above as 4, 1, 2, all are contained in some form in each of the three versions, but with considerable variation. The making of clothes has now some added features in that the hero's request that clothes be made out of the coarse material brought by him has developed into the making of coarse clothing for him (or simply the buying of the cloth in B) by his mother (B), foster-mother (C), queen (D), the fine clothing

¹ Cf. Grundtvig, *D g F.*, I. 359.

being actually made by the king's daughter¹ (*fröken* in D, in which version tailors have been introduced). The sea trip remains in B, the special victim of our hero being merged in the fifteen slain (stanza 11). The Norwegian version (C) has characteristically made "*troll*" of the opponents, and the fact of the contest at sea is obscured (see *pá leikarvollo*, stanza 12), though the iron boat of stanza 16 is not to be overlooked. Similarly the Swedish version (D) has giants (*jättar*) upon the strand, of whom the hero kills seven. The adventure with the monster in his mound is preserved in some little detail in B, but much abbreviated in C, where it is also brought more immediately into connection with the foregoing episode and decked out in genuine Norwegian fashion with the addition of the "small trolls." The Swedish version (D) has an even more immediate connection with the previous episode and retains the "small trolls," which are killed along with the big giant quite as in C. This evidence of the main episodes of the ballad seems to me to point conclusively to the fact that it had passed from Denmark to Norway and from Norway to Sweden. That in minor points each of the forms has preserved certain original features, as we shall show directly, does not necessarily invalidate this conclusion, as we must remember that neither A nor B are the original Danish versions, nor are C or D the original Norwegian or Swedish ones. Their relationship would then be expressed thus:



I shall next compare the folkeviser with the rímur, as probably representing pretty accurately the Icelandic source of the former, indicating more closely in what points they correspond collectively or individually with the rímur. The father of the hero (*Gripr* of rímur) was according to A1 a nobleman (the name "*Adell-grøffue*" is a perfectly transparent appellative), according to C a peasant,

¹ That the princess herself made the clothes must, in view of the symbolic meaning of the process, have been a feature of the original ballad.

called "*Stein*," living not far from the place where the story was told (A says not far from court). The king is localized only in A at "*Opsaall*" ("*Opsal*"). That the hero had brothers is mentioned also in A and C: according to A1 there were seven sons, of whom *Rambolt* was the youngest; according to C, twelve, of whom *Rámund* was the best. According to the *Griplur* there were nine sons, of whom *Hrómund* was the oldest. A1 and B represent the king's daughter as learned—knowing present and future, i.e., in terms of an Icelandic original she was versed in magic. In the *Griplur* she gives *Hrómund* a shield with magic properties.¹ According to A1 *Rambolt's* purpose at court was to learn of the maid, with which end in view he sets out with a steel rod (*stallstang*) on his back. To follow the exposition of A, the king sees a number of ships coming; it transpires that the leader of the expedition is *Aller hin stærke* and that his purpose is to demand the hand of the king's daughter. The king proposes a contest upon *Widriks wold*, which accordingly takes place. B had mentioned (stanza 8) the preparations for a sea trip on the part of the king and has the meeting accordingly take place on the sea. D speaks also of an expedition over sea to the land of the giants, it being according to C a troll in the mountains to the northward who wished to carry off the king's daughter. *Griplur* has also a sea expedition, the meeting with *Hrøngviðr* taking place at a group of small islands (*Elfarsker*). That the opponent is called *Aller* in A must rest upon a substitution of names which it would be futile to attempt to explain. The *Widriks wold* (or at least the name "*Widrik*") is borrowed from ballads dealing with *Diderik* and his heroes.² The name of the troll, *Hölgi Kvass*, in C preserves of course the *Helgi enn frækni* of the *rímur*; he belongs, however, there to the later episode, which has been united with the former in the ballads (not yet completely so in A) as noted above. In this land-fight at *Widriks wold*, *Aller*, by a strange inconsistency of A³, springs into the king's

¹ Cf. *infra* the reference to Saxo's *Swanhwita*.

² Cf. Grundtvig, *D g F.*, I, 68 ff.

³ *Widriks wold* belonged originally not to this contest, but to the second with *Aller* (or whoever it may have been in the original ballad), i.e., it corresponded with the contest with *Helgi enn frækni* upon *Vænir* in the *Griplur*. This fact is apparent not only from the somewhat superficial similarity in the two names and the nature of the fighting, but also from fact that this battle took place according to definite challenge, quite as did that on the ice of Lake Venern in the *rímur*.

boat, frightening him cruelly; the king is however saved by Rambolt, who strikes down Aller, the latter springing into a little boat and coming thus to land. This shows fairly close agreement with the *rímur*, where Hrǫngviðr also leaps upon the king's boat (I, 46) and is killed by Hrǫmund. The explanation of the steel rod above mentioned (sc. also A1, 23) is likewise to be found in the *rímur*, from which it appears that Hrǫngviðr was invulnerable to sword, spear, or arrow (I, 51), and where Hrǫmund also uses a steel club. B has not forgotten this iron rod, but puts it into the hands of the monster Thrud, and lets him attack Ranild with it (stanza 23). In C, Rámund prepares a club for his attack upon Hölgi Kvass. None of the other ballads has preserved the account of this fight in anything like the fidelity of A. In B, Ranild notes a man in armor come rowing toward them; he reproves the steersman for steering like a crazy man and kills at least fifteen of the hostile warriors, whereupon a little warrior begs him to suspend the slaughter until he shall have had time to bail out the blood. This criticism of the steersman appears to have been corrupted under the influence of other ballads from the vigorous exchange of words between Kári and Hrǫngviðr (I, 30 ff.) or Hrǫmund and Hrǫngviðr (I, 55 ff.) in the *rímur*, which is better preserved in C and D. In C, Hölgi Kvass, having demanded the king's daughter, turns to taunt Rámund, who has given expression to the refusal, and challenges him to a contest; the fear of the king and courtiers is described somewhat as in A, but Rámund kills Hölgi with his club. So in D there is an exchange of mutual defiance between Ramunder and the seven giants, whom he sees on the strand. He kills them all with his sword, *Dymlingen dya*, the sword being introduced prematurely in this version.

The transition to the adventure with the monster has lost the peasant *Máni* of the *Griplur*. In A it is effected by the crazy man, whom the king sees sailing toward him; he complains that a dragon (*draagen*) has taken his gold; the king asks the way to the latter's haunt and proposes to bridge the intervening water by means of his boats; Rambolt is promised the sword *Kaallebrantt* (*Kallebrand*) and all the monster's gold, if he can overcome him. In B it is the "little warrior" above mentioned who proves the informant. He tells Ranild that he is seeking three sons of his uncle, King *Saxe*; these

sons' names were *Adam*, "*Koer*," and *Ranild*. His newly found cousin then invites *Ranild* to follow him to *Thrud*'s island. This personage had robbed him of gold, horse, and sword. The little warrior threatens *Ranild* if he does not come with him. In C it is *Trúgin Úblið*,¹ *Hölgis svein*, who comes rowing in an iron boat (evidence of his supernatural nature as a troll). He explains that *Hölgi* was his uncle (these statements of relationship all seem to have been corrupted out of the fact that *Helgi* in the Icelandic original was the brother of *Hrǫngviðr*). Hereupon he repairs to the mountain with *Rámund* and shows him, as his "relative," the small trolls. In D the transition scene is completely lost, *Ramunder* after disposing of the seven giants on the strand going at once to attack the big giant. The fact that B names two brothers of *Ranild* is not without interest; the source of these names is made clearer by a comparison with C. "*Koer*" (B) represents of course the old Norse *Kári*, which is preserved intact (*Káre*) in C. "*Adam*" is obviously a substitution for some old Norse name, nor does the "*Homlung*," "*Homle*" of C help us much here, as this name has itself apparently come in from the list of *Diderik*'s knights.² On the other hand the circumstances under which these two names appear in C betray clearly their origin. The two serve at the king's court and even if we understand the ballad to make them out to be brothers of *Rámund* (as *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, I, 368 does), they are obviously the *Kári* and *Qrnólf* of the *rímur*, the two brothers (not related to *Hrómund*) who are distinguished in the king's service (his *stafnbúar*) and who succumb in the conflict with *Hrǫngviðr*. As concerns the name of the sword, the *Mistilteinn* of the *rímur* has been displaced by other names. A's *Kaallebrantt* (*Kollebrand*, *Kolebrand*) is not with certainty identifiable; it forms, however, a perfectly transparent term for sword,³ and may be related to the name of King Arthur's sword *Caleburnus*.⁴ The sword is not named in B and C, but appears in D

¹ That *Úblið* was originally an adjective (=old Icelandic *óblíðr*, just as *Kvass* above =old Icelandic *kvass*) is noted by *Grundtvig* (*D g F*). In B the name has been corrupted into *Thrude* (*Thrud*) aff *Blide*. *Trúgin* and *Thrud* are readily identifiable with the *Dráinn* of the *Griplur*. That the "*draagen*" of A may have originated as a corruption of the same name is noted by *Grundtvig*.

² Cf. *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, I, 71 ff.

³ Cf. S. Bugge in *Grundtvig*, *D g F*, IV, 763.

⁴ According to Geoffrey of Monmouth (cf. *Bretasögur* in *Hauksbók*, 288, 293), *Caled-wulch* of *Mabinogion*, see *Grundtvig*, *op. cit.*, and I, 360.

as *Dymlingen dyra*, which Grundtvig¹ compares with the name of Roland's sword, *Dyrendal*.²

The conflict with the dragon is not described in detail in A. We learn here only that Rambolt demanded the sword, but was informed that it was in the mountain, that the contest lasted three days, and that Rambolt after killing the dragon took the gold and sword and returned to Widriks wold. B goes more into detail, even adding a little feature apparently gathered from another source. This version represents Thrude as on the lookout at the sound; upon seeing Ranild he tears up an oak tree by the roots³ and hurls it in the way, but Ranild steers straight into it, destroying it. Ranild then goes to the mountain, secures the sword, is attacked by Thrude with an iron rod, but cuts off the latter's arms and legs, then his head, throwing both head and body into the sound. He repairs to the strand, but finds his ships gone; he blows in his gilded horn, whereupon his gilded ship breaks its nine anchor-strings and comes to him; he packs in the gold and sails homeward. C again passes briefly over this contest. Rámund secures the sword in the mountain as in all the versions, cuts off with it the eight hands of Trúgin Úblið,⁴ finds the gold, and kills Trúgin Úblið and the small trolls as well. D has here certain features not found elsewhere, except, as it appears, in the Icelandic rímur. The big giant, being attacked by Ramunder, begs for its life and offers gold and wine.⁵ Ramunder is however defiant and the wrestling-match follows quite as in the *Griplur*. That Ramunder tears away the giant's beard and the flesh with it appears to show a transfer of the clawing which Hrómund receives from Dráinn in the rímur.⁶ The second round results in the mountain upon which they are standing being quite trampled to mud,⁷ and the giant comments upon the fierceness of the struggle.⁸ It ends in Ramunder's cutting off the giant's head, upon which he goes into the mountain, sees the small trolls weeping, kills them all, packs gold and jewels into his ships, and embarks for the land of the "keysar."

¹ *D g F.*, I, 368.

² Cf. Kahle, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, XIV, 223.

³ Cf. *D g F.*, I, 111b, stanza 21.

⁴ Cf. Starkað's eight hands, *Gautreks saga*, ed. Ranisch, p. 33; Saxo, p. 183.

⁵ Cf. *Griplur*, III, 14-15. ⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 36 ff. ⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 31, 32. ⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 33.

In A, after Rambolt has resumed his fight with Aller at Widriks wold and killed him, follows the episode of the making of the clothing, which, as already stated, is at the beginning of the other versions. A tells it thus: There was ball-playing at the court, where Rambolt's poor clothing was the subject of general ridicule. He requests the maid (king's daughter) to cut him clothing of coarse material. She laughs, says such clothing is not fitting for him who is to become a prince, and makes him clothing becoming his future dignity. In B, Ranild distinguishes himself in a tournament, but finds that his clothing is hardly up to the court standard. He repairs to his mother, who gives him coarse cloth and sends him to the young maid, who will cut him clothing. He goes to the maid and proffers his request. She remarks upon the fate in store for him, cuts him fine clothes, and bids him take service at her father's court, which he does, as described above. C also introduces the courtiers playing games, among whom Rámund's scanty clothing is the subject of general ridicule. He begs his foster-mother to make him clothing, which she does of very coarse material. Hereupon the hero requests the king's daughter to make him clothing. She does so, using silk for the purpose. D remarks at the outset that Ramunder was in need of better clothing (the ball-playing is entirely separate in this version, viz., toward the end in stanza 18, which corresponds essentially with its position in A1). The queen makes him coarse clothing, to which he objects. The "fröken" (evidently the king's daughter, whether she is the same as the daughter of the "keysar" referred to later is not clear in this ballad) gives him finer clothing. The following verses relating how Ramunder seeks out the tailors and has them take his measure is an independent innovation in D, introduced in accordance with its conception of Ramunder's gigantic stature. The origin of this important episode of the making of the hero's clothing is not at first sight clear, as it does not closely correspond with anything contained in the *Griplur*. One is tempted from its position after the last battle and the fact that it necessarily involves sewing, to identify it with that episode in the *Griplur* in which Hrómund is represented as sewing up his wounded abdomen, and there seems little doubt that it has in fact taken the place of that episode of its Icelandic source. That a substitution of some sort was inevitable

is clear enough, if one but compare the standard of taste of the aristocratic Danish audience of the early folkeviser with the Icelandic audience appealed to by the rímur—or, in this case, certainly of the earlier audience of the prose source of the rímur. But it is not so easy to see just why the substitution should have taken on this peculiar and by no means closely related form. As a matter of fact we must here go back of the *Griplur* to their prose source and its story of Svanhvít and her lover as it is preserved by Saxo,¹ a full account of which will be given in the chapter treating of the sources of the original *Hrómundar saga*. By taking into consideration this story, which is indubitably a source of this episode in the ballads, and remembering besides that the sewing of clothing (or more especially a shirt) for the hero by the maid is in the folkeviser equivalent to a betrothal,² as is the gift of the shield in the rímur, the three constituent elements in the source which have together given rise to this divergent episode in the ballads are adequately accounted for.

The concluding episode of the marriage with the king's daughter is, as before said, preserved only in A, though the other versions are not without allusions to it, and all show the preliminary step, the making of the hero's clothing by the princess. Rambolt declares (in A) his love to the princess (*Daddebrun*); she sends him to her father, who declares himself agreeable, if it be his daughter's wish. The latter asserts that it was decreed by fate before her lover's birth that they should marry (this is in accordance with B's statement of the princess' supernatural knowledge), whereupon the wedding takes place. B closes simply with the reception of Ranild by the king and queen and their question how they are to dispose of his gold. C breaks off suddenly with the killing of Trúgin Úblið and the small trolls, while D, after mention of the games at court and the courtiers' fear of Ramunder, tells of the "keysar's" displeasure at sight of the hero; that the latter challenges him and at once proceeds to violence; that the youngest princess and half the kingdom are offered to appease him. He replies, however, that he can take both when he will and cuts off the emperor's head.

Enough has been said to show that, while each of the four ballads contains certain original features as compared with the others, these

¹ Ed. Holder, pp. 42 ff.

² Cf. Steenstrup, *op. cit.*, 268 f.; Grundtvig, *D g f.*, III, 918 f.

are not of such a sort that they cannot be explained in accordance with the relationship postulated above and that the nature of the more essential changes is best explained by assuming exactly that relationship. The evidence from the related refrains of B, C, and D has already been discussed as a means of separating this group from A and one reason for regarding it as secondary to the same. The other cases of varying refrain mentioned by Steenstrup show a precedent or at least analogies for the development of this stylistic novelty on Danish ground. Norwegian and Swedish ballads show, so far as I know, no exactly analogous development, their version of our ballad being in that respect unique and surely not original.¹ A comparison of the three will show further that the Danish has the simpler type of refrain, which has been a trifle enlarged upon in the other cases, more in the Norwegian, most of all in the Swedish:

DANISH (B), 1:

"Ware ieg saa wiis!" sagde Ranilld.

NORWEGIAN (C), 1:

*"Aa, deð var no fulla eg,"
sa' han unge Rámund.*

SWEDISH (D), 1:

*"Tåcke vill jag inte ha," sade Ramunder,
"Tåcke står mig inte bra," sade Ramunder den Unga.*

The nature of the variations noted, especially the splitting into two distinct types, indicates a considerable age for the Danish version (Dan. 1) which we were obliged to postulate as the original type of the ballad.²

Through comparison with the Icelandic rímur we found reason to conclude that while the original ballad (Dan. 1) had as its source material practically the same as that contained in the rímur, the rímur themselves were not this source. If we dismiss altogether the matter of chronological possibility, we have seen that the ballads,

¹ Swedish historical ballads show, among other irregularities, sometimes stanzas of six verses; Arwidsson No. 160 even has verses 5 and 6 formally differentiated. They are, however, not at all analogous to the refrain of our ballad.

² Axel Olrik in an allusion to these ballads (*Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XIV, 84) recognizes the essential relation of B and A to the Icelandic material of the Hrómundar saga. His postulation of a Norwegian ballad as the connecting link in either case is not supported by any reasons given (nor has he so far as I know, accounted elsewhere for this statement), and may in the lack of such be understood as conjectural; it is certainly not in accordance with the facts developed by our analysis and comparison of the ballads.

notably in the matter of the sewing of the hero's clothes, indicate a source prior to the *Griplur*, and it should further be observed that the *rímur* contain certain episodes not alluded to in the faintest way in the ballads. Such are, apart from the rôle of the valkyrie Kára and her death, Blindur enn þolvísi and the search for Hrómund, his concealment, the dreams of Blindur, in fact the whole matter appertaining to the Haddingjar. Now in the Hrómundar saga alluded to in Sturlunga there is evidence of most of the episodes included in the ballads, but none of the episodes connected with the Haddingjar, which moreover are in part preserved in altogether different environment.¹ There is then the greatest probability that the source of the ballad was this Hrómundar saga referred to in Sturlunga, which had ere the composition of the *rímur* received a considerable interpolation from another source. What this source was remains to be taken up in a later paper, while the whole chronological relations of our various materials will be made clearer in the following chapter.

5. *The date of composition of the lost Icelandic Hrómundar saga Gripssonar.*—The most reliable external evidence for the existence of an Old Icelandic Hrómundar saga Gripssonar is found in that often-cited passage of the Sturlunga,² wherein the varied amusements indulged in at a wedding-feast at Reykjahólar in the year 1119 are recounted. There is, it is true, evidence from other sources tending to confirm beyond question the existence of such a saga, though adding little of positive character to what the Sturlunga furnishes us. This statement of the Sturlunga has until recent years been accepted as indisputable proof of the existence of the saga just mentioned as early as 1119, making it the first of the *fornaldar-sögur* type of which anything definite is known.³ This interpretation of the passage is rightly called into question by Kálund,⁴ who regards that portion of the Sturlunga in which this statement occurs, viz., the “*Dorgils saga ok Hafliða*,” as a work of the twelfth century and suggests that this statement may be an editorial interpolation. As this collection (the Sturlunga) was brought together and edited

¹ Cf. *Helga kviða Hund.*, II, 2–4, and prose at end.

² Ed. Kálund, 1 bind (1906), p. 22.

³ Cf., e.g., F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 790 ff., 1901.

⁴ *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1901, p. 284 f.

at the close of the thirteenth century,¹ it gives us with certainty only a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the *Hrómundar saga* of about 1300. The statement in question reads as follows in Kålund's critical text:

Frá því er nokkut sagt, er þó er lítil tilkoma, hverir þar skemtu eða hverju skemt var. Þat er í frásögn haft, er nú mæla margir í móti ok látaz ekki vitat hafa, því at margir ganga duldir hins sanna, ok hyggja þat satt, er skrökvat er, en þat logit, sem satt er,—Hrólfr frá Skálmarnesi sagði sögu frá Hrøngviði víkingi ok frá Óláfi liðsmanna-konungi ok haugbroti Þráins ok Hrómundi Gripssyni ok margar vísur með. En þessarri sögu var skemt Sverri konungi, ok kallaði hann slíkar lygisögur skemtiligstar, ok þó kunna menn at telja ættir sínar til Hrómundar Gripssonar. Þessa sögu hafði Hrólfur sjálf saman setta. Ingimundr prestur sagði sögu Orms Barreyjar-skálds ok vísur margar ok flokk góðan við enda sögunnar, er Ingimundr hafði ortan, ok hafa þá margir fróðir menn þessa sögu fyrir satt.

This does not follow, as one would certainly expect, the mention of the relating of sagas in the list of amusements, there intervening a statement of the duration of the festivities, of the annual celebration of *Óláfs messa*, of the fertility of the soil at Reykjahólar, and of the ripening of the grain crop, which very probably formed the original conclusion of the account of the festivities. The fact that our note is appended in this fashion at the end of the narrative instead of occurring in its natural place in the context, together with the whole nature of the note itself, shows it plainly to be an addition of the editor. The editor even apologizes for adding it as being of little importance, stating that it is based upon tradition, which is discredited by many. He states further that this saga had furnished especial amusement to King Sverrir († 1202), calls it a "fiction" (*lygisaga*) and names Hrólfur frá Skálmarnesi, who recited it on this occasion, as also its author. The editor knows also another tradition about Hrómundr Gripsson, viz., that found in the *Landnáma*, as we shall see directly. Now this weighing of the two traditions against each other is exactly paralleled in the *Geirmundar páttur*, which forms the beginning of the *Sturlunga* and which bears witness in a similar way to knowledge both of the *Hálfs saga* and the *Landnáma*.² Both refer in the same way to *frásagnir* and to conflicting opinions,

¹ Cf. Kålund, *op. cit.*, 298; F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 739, 1900; Ólsen, *Safn til Sögu Íslands*, III, 507, 1897.

² Cf. F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, II, 727, 1900.

between which choice must be made. That the statements concerned are those of the same man, viz., the editor of the collection,¹ seems to admit of no doubt, and the value of the evidence must be determined from this standpoint. Kålund is even inclined to doubt² that the note is meant to be taken seriously, and certainly the allusion to King Sverrir has much of the flavor of literary humor, while the fact that the production is definitely called a *lygisaga* seems to preclude any possibility of its having appealed to the author of the note as a venerable *fornsaga*. *Lygisaga* like *lygi* meant in Old Icelandic usage nothing more nor less than a "lie," its present use as a *terminus technicus* for "fictitious tale," "fictitious saga" having originated with modern literary historians. That *lygisögur* (in the present technical sense) were composed in Iceland as early as 1119, or that the conception implied in *lygisaga* can have been seriously extended to any production of that early time is to my mind incredible.³ That the *Hrómundar saga* is on the other hand correctly classed as a *lygisaga*, that it contains not one grain of old heroic legend not transferred from some other source remains to be proven in the chapter dealing with its sources. That the editor of the Sturlunga collection dared stigmatize it thus would suggest that it was the product of a time not greatly prior to his own, i.e., not long before the close of the thirteenth century, nor do I believe that the purely fictitious Icelandic saga can be traced much further back.

The two traditions referred to in the Sturlunga may be designated: (1) the genealogical tradition, and (2) the *lygisaga*. The source of (1) is the *Landnáma*⁴; for the allusion in the *Flóamanna saga*⁵ is merely an extract from the *Landnáma*,⁶ as is also that in the longer saga of Óláfr Tryggvason.⁷ That this tradition of a purely genealogical character presented by the *Landnáma* is older than the *lygisaga* having *Hrómundr* as its hero is apparent from several considerations: (1) The *Landnáma* knew no saga connected with him, so far as can be detected; it gives him merely the prosaic patro-

¹ Cf. his note in *Sturlunga*, I, 119 f.

² *Op. cit.*, 284 f.

³ Cf. also Axel Olrik, *Saksnes Oldhistorie*, I, 12, 1892.

⁴ Ed. F. Jónsson (1900), pp. 6, 131.

⁵ *Fornsögur*, p. 120.

⁶ Cf. mention of *Landnáma* on p. 122, and F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, II, 758, 1900.

⁷ *Flateyjarbók*, I, 248; *Fms.* I, 237; *Landn.*, p. 263; cf. pp. xxxviii ff.

nymic, not the by-name so characteristic of the fornaldarsaga hero, and indicates by no word that a saga was attached to his name. (2) The genealogical table does not correspond at a single point with that of the saga, so far as the contents of this are deducible from the rímur. (3) The story told by the Landnáma of Hrómund's great-grandson, Leifr, and how the latter came to be called Hjörleifr has evidently given the suggestion for a principal episode in the fictitious Hrómundar saga, as will be shown in the chapter discussing the sources of the saga. That the relation should in this point be the reverse, viz., that the Landnáma should have transferred a saga connected with Hrómundr to a historical descendant or reputed descendant of his, is from the whole character of the Landnáma incredible, and even if such were not the case, the chronological direction of legend-formation is not from the highly exaggerated and supernatural to the relatively simple and natural, but vice versa. The fact that no notice of Hrómundr is to be found in the Old Norse literature in any monument antedating the Landnáma (*Sturlubók* dating from the middle of the thirteenth century)¹ must be explained by anyone who would assert that he was the hero of a real fornaldarsaga. Even granting that there may have been some legendary association connected with his name, or for that matter that he cannot be proven to be a historical personage, the fact remains that the saga about him, whose contents are preserved through the Grip-lur and Scandinavian popular ballads and which is alluded to in the Sturlunga, made use of no such legend, but is entirely a fictitious production of the last half of the thirteenth century, in securing material for which the author had freely plundered heroic legends of earlier date, as we can demonstrate from their preservation in other and older sources. While we know that in many cases it can be proven that Icelandic families attached their genealogical records by one means or another to some hero of fornaldarsaga type,² we have in the Hrómundar saga an example of the very natural corollary, that an ancestor was decked out with a saga made to order. That this is the later stage in the process is evident enough from the nature of the case.

¹ Cf. F. Jónsson, *Landnáma* (1900), pp. iv, xxxix.

² Cf. Vigfússon, *Safn til Sögu Íslands*, I, 185 f., 1855.

The earliest evidences of this secondary tradition, the *lygisaga* of *Hrómundr Gripsson*, are the nearly contemporary ones of the *Hálfs saga B*¹ and *Sturlunga*, both from 1300 or shortly before. The *Hálfs saga* furnishes us only the information of the genealogical connection of *Hrómundr* with *Hrókr enn svarti* (as his grandson), a fact unknown to the *Landnáma*, which had used *Hálfs saga A* (composed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century). The *Sturlunga* (*vide supra*) gives us much more definite information of the contents of this *lygisaga*, which information is quite confirmed by the *rímur*. Its principal episodes included the struggle with *Hrǫngviðr víkingr* and the forced entrance into *Dráin's* mound; mention is made also of *Óláfr liðsmannakonungr*, by which very indefinite title² the necessity of localizing him anywhere is avoided, quite as in the *Geirmundar þáttur*³ the same editor of the *Sturlunga* avoids localizing King *Hjǫrr*, the father of the dark twins. That this original saga did not contain more than these two episodes can, of course, not be proven. That it did contain at least one further episode, in which *Hrómundr* was obliged to measure himself with *Helgi*, a brother or other relative of *Hrǫngviðr*, is indicated by the popular ballads, which very evidently go back to this saga, not to the later *rímur* (*vide supra*). That the love story of *Hrómundr* and *Svanhvít* was included is attested by the same ballads. Both *Sturlunga* and the ballads agree, however, in denying to it the incidents connected with *Helgi Haddingjaskati* and the *Haddingjar*, and this evidence is sufficient to make it very probable that the *rímur* rest upon a revision of the saga, or a later stage in the oral transmission of the same, in which a considerable interpolation had taken place, a version dating without doubt from the fourteenth century.⁴ The ground for such an interpolation would lie in the common name

¹ Cf. my edition (*Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, Heft 14, Halle, 1909), pp. 34, 47, 50 f., 131 f.

² The title is confirmed by the *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, *vide infra*.

³ *Sturlunga*, pp. 1-4.

⁴ That sagas of all sorts experienced various revisions or were recorded several times, showing various stages in the oral transmission, is so familiar a phenomenon (cf. Heinzel, *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien*; *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 114 [1887], p. 435) that attention need hardly be called to it; cf., e.g., *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, *Óláfs saga helga*, *Jónsvíkinga saga*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, *Hervarar saga*, *Órvar-Odds saga*, *Gautreks saga*, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, *Bósa saga*, *Mágus saga*, etc.; the *Gautreks saga* shows in fact an entirely parallel case, in that the *Vikars saga* has been interpolated in the second version; cf. Ranisch, *Gautreks saga*, pp. xviii ff.

Helgi of the two heroes, evidently the same ground, by the way, which had led to verses dealing with Helgi Haddingjaskati being introduced into the Eddic song having Helgi Hundingsbani as its hero. The idea of such an interpolation appears to have occurred also to Axel Olrik,¹ who also in other respects has taken a more cautious stand upon the antiquity of the Hrómundar saga. Witness to the same saga is borne also by the genealogical list in the Flateyjarbók (I, 24). This list can certainly not be regarded as older than the close of the thirteenth century, as it has made use of Hálfs saga B (or at least the oral form, of which B is a record), wherein Hrómundr Gripsson had already been appended to the whole genealogy of Hrókr enn svarti. Just how old this genealogical list is can be determined only by a careful study of its sources. It may be said that the bungling way in which the table of the Haddingjar (with mention of Helgi Haddingjaskati) is made to precede the list of the descendants of Hálfðan enn gamli, which forms the real motif of this whole section, and then the whole table of the Hálfs saga with Hrómundr is made directly to precede the former, though without any genealogical point of contact, leads one to suspect that these additions at the front may not only be very late, but perhaps even reveal a knowledge of the united Hrómundar and Helga saga (the Flateyjarbók was written 1387-94).

Certain other sagas, presumably all of the fourteenth century, also bear witness to the existence of this Hrómundar saga, viz., the Gøngu-Hrólf's saga,² the Hálfðanar saga Eysteinsonar,³ and the Gríms saga loðinkinna.⁴ Of these the second merely connects a king Þrándr, eponymus of Þrándheimr (Tronhjem), with the family of Hrómundr: "*Þrándr var mikill höfðingi; hans kona hét Dagmær, systir Svanhvítar, er Hrómundr Gripsson átti.*" With reference to this allusion to our saga there is only to be noted that *Dagmær* instead of *Dagný* corresponds with the best MS (a) of the Griplur (IV, 8). The passage in the Gøngu-Hrólf's saga reads as follows: "*Þat er fróðra manna sögn, at annarr sonr Hrólf's hafi verið Óláfr konungr í Danmörk, er Helgi enn frækni herjaði á, en Hrómundr Greipsson veitti Óláfi, sem segir í sögu hans, ok drap Helga; ok þær Dagný ok*

¹ Cf. *Saksnes Oldhistorie*, I, 11, n. 2, 1892.

² *Fas.* III, 362 f.

³ *Ibid.*, 519.

⁴ *Fas.* II, 153 f.

Dagbjört væri dætr Hrólfs, er græddu Hrómund, en þat er eigi ritat, hvárt þær váru börn Ingigerðar eðr eigi." This source has *Dagný*, it is true, but has changed *Svanhvít* to *Dagbjört*; in other respects its *Greipsson* for *Gripsson* is the earliest trace of this error and it furthermore localizes *Óláfr konungr* in Denmark, quite as does the seventeenth-century *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*.¹ The mention of *Helgi enn frækni* is interesting as confirming the name given in the *rímur* and indicating the rôle played by this hero in the *Hrómundar saga* known to the author (or reviser or interpolator?) of the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*. The statement that it was the two sisters of *Óláfr* who nursed *Hrómundr* back to health and strength tends to prove that the episode of *Hrómund's* stay at *Hagal's*, i.e., presumably the whole matter connected with the *Haddingjar*, had not yet been interpolated into the *Hrómundar saga*. The allusion of the *Gríms saga loðinkinna* reads: "*Ingjaldr fekk þeirar konu er Dagný hét, dóttur Ásmundar, er við Gnoð var kendr, en systir Óláfs liðsmannakonungs; við henni átti hann þann son, er Ásmundr hét, er síðan var fóstbróðir Odds hins víðfjrla, er var með Sigurði hring á Brávelli, er þöru nafni hét Orvar-Oddr.*" Though there is here no mention of *Hrómundr* himself, nor even of *Svanhvít*, there is no adequate reason to suppose that this mention of *Dagný* and *Óláfr* with its certainly late genealogical connection with a personage of the *Orvar-Odds saga* in any way antedates the appearance of this family in the *Hrómundar saga*. Very interesting is the confirmation of the title *Óláfr liðsmannakonungr* as found in the *Sturlunga*. An allusion to the matter of the *Hrómundar saga* in the *Hervarar saga* is, as already Müller had recognized,² the gloss of a single late MS.

From about 1400 the *Skíða ríma*³ recalls "*Dráinn í haugi*" as "*draugr*" and "*tröll*,"⁴ as does also a later Icelandic *vikivakavæði*,⁵

¹ It may be stated here that MS *W* of the *rímur* shows also this idea of Denmark as the home of *Óláfr*, viz., in III, 61, where instead of the *norrðr í Björgvin* of *a* it offers *sudr við Danmörk*; that its reading is here incorrect is attested by its lack of alliteration, and even the late saga, which we have shown was a paraphrase of a third record of the *rímur*, though agreeing with *W* in its *Dagný*, has here *norrðr til stins ríkis* (*Fas.* II, 371).

² *Sagabibliothek* II, 554, 1818; cf. Bugge, *Norrøne skrifter*, 206.

³ Ed. F. Jónsson, *Rímnasafn*, pp. 11 ff., 1905.

⁴ Stanzas 75, 158, 160, 161.

⁵ Ó. Davíðsson, *Íslenskar gátur, þulur og skemtanir*, V, 287, stanza 7.

whose author was well acquainted with the *Skíða ríma*.¹ Not long after 1400 is to be placed the composition of the *Griplur* (*vide supra*), which are in substance a versification of a version of the *Hrómundar saga* into which episodes from a saga of *Helgi Haddingjaskati* had been interpolated. In dating their composition thus we must discard the late tradition that they are the work of *Sigurður blindi*. There is in fact nothing in their language indicating that they are especially young,² and it may be added that their metrical and other stylistic features are in no respect indicative of a late origin. The types of stanzas are, in addition to the familiar *ferskeytt* (I, III, VI), *braghenda* (II), *staðhenda* (IV), and *fráhenda* (V).³ These all occur, however, in a goodly number of the older *rímur*, in case the subject is treated in more than a single *ríma* (the *Völsungs rímur* are an exception) and formal variation from the otherwise monotonous *ferskeytt* seem necessary. That *ríma* II makes use in addition of hending in all three lines of the stanza (*braghenda alhend*) does not bespeak necessarily a greatly younger origin, for this use of hending is merely an adaptation from the familiar technique of the scaldic poetry and may readily have been adopted at any time for the *rímur*. The *Grettis rímur*, which Jónsson⁴ considers as not younger than 1400, show hending in the first line of this same type of stanza⁵ (*Sigurðsson's* No. 19, p. 51). But irregularities in the length of this very line containing the hending, as well as in the others, led Jónsson to infer the relative primitiveness of the *Grettis rímur*. Neither do I find anything in the manuscript which need argue for an especially later origin; in fact I cannot see that any adequate stylistic criteria for relative age within that group of *rímur* designated by Jónsson as the oldest have as yet been established. The manuscript relationships point, as we have already seen, to a composition from the early part of the fifteenth century, and we need have no hesitation, considering the present state of our knowledge of the *rímur*, in assigning the composition of the *Griplur* to the time about 1400. Mention of *Hrómund* in a *kappakvæði* of the sixteenth

¹ Cf. among other things the mention of *Húsagánga-Skiði*, p. 288, stanza 10.

² Cf. F. Jónsson, *Lit. hist.*, III, 40, 1902.

³ Cf. H. Sigurðsson, *Safn til bragfræði íslenskra rímnna*, Reykjavík, 1891.

⁴ *Lit. hist.*, III, 41, 1902.

⁵ *Grettis rímur* II, *Rímnasafn*, pp. 49 ff.

century¹ assigns him still the sword Mistilteinn and may well rest upon knowledge of the Griplur.

Important testimony to the contents of the original *Hrómundar saga* is borne further by the *Andra rímur*, whose prose original was strongly influenced by this work. I can attempt here no critical consideration of this material as the older *Andra rímur* are not yet printed. I shall refer for their general contents only to Kölbing,² who had already called attention to one point of similarity.³ Kölbing employed, be it said, for his "Inhaltsangabe" the later *rímur* by Hannes Bjarnason and Gísli Konráðsson.⁴ The older *Andra rímur* are supposed to have been composed by Sigurður blindi⁵ and we may presuppose as their source a *lygisaga* presumably of the fourteenth century, which as just intimated, must have made use of the original *Hrómundar saga*. This is apparent from the following considerations: (1) The *Andra rímur* show various names of the *Hrómundar saga* and these too the characteristic ones, e.g., Helgi, Dráinn, Svanhvít, *Hrómund*. (2) They show similar incidents: the burial mound of the giant *Bolverkr*, who was interred alive, is broken into by a hero and the treasure stolen therefrom; Svanhvít and her companion, Gyða, visit the battlefield, rescue a hero, and care for him. (3) Svanhvít's daughter, Goðríður, is wise and no one can gain her hand without a contest: this feature, which in the *Hrómundar saga* must have applied to Svanhvít herself, corresponds exactly and strikingly with the statement of the Danish ballad A,⁶ which must then also have had it from its original source, the same *Hrómundar saga*. (4) After her husband's departure on a campaign Svanhvít dies of grief; when, upon his return, he learns of her death, he seeks entrance to her grave and after some days dies beside her corpse. This, while not absolutely identical, is yet so similar to the story of Swanhwita's attachment for her husband as told by Saxo that we must suppose the source of the *Andra saga* to have been here as elsewhere the *Hrómundar saga*, which had employed, as we know, the tradition about Svanhvít preserved to us by Saxo.

¹ *Arkiv f. nord. Filol.*, III, 371, 1885.

² *Beiträge*, 231 ff.

³ *Ibid.* (1876), 176 f.

⁴ *Viðeyjar Klaustri*, 1834 (2d edition, Bessastaðir, 1905).

⁵ Cf. Jón Þorkelsson *Om Digtningen på Island i 15. og 16. Årh.*, 284 ff., 1888.

⁶ Stanzas 1, 2. *D g F.*, I, 360.

There still remains one source generally regarded as testifying to the existence of the *Hrómundar saga* in the Icelandic saga period, which I have purposely left to the last because of the very anomalous and doubtful character of its evidence, the *Málsháttakvæði*, as christened by Vigfússon. This has been published by Möbius,¹ by Vigfússon,² by Wisén,³ and finally in diplomatic edition by F. Jónsson.⁴ It is found in Codex Regius of the *Snorra Edda* written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, in which MS it follows the *Jómsvíkinga drápa* of the Orkney bishop, Bjarni Kolbeinsson († 1222). For this reason and because both bear lyric expression to the experience of disappointed love, Möbius advanced the hypothesis that the *Málsháttakvæði* might also be the work of Bishop Bjarni.⁵ That it was written in along with the other because of this similarity is conceivable enough, but it is no argument at all for its being the work of the same poet. In so far as there is any similarity whatever in the two poems it lies in this one motif, which is typical of the *mansöngur*, a literary type well known in Iceland in the thirteenth century or earlier, as Möbius' examples⁶ show. One could with almost equal right argue that a good majority of the *rímur* were composed by Bishop Bjarni. As to the occurrence of the two on the same parchment of the fourteenth century, that is very far from being an argument for the common authorship. One could with the same right argue that both were the work of Snorri. Now this remarkable poem, whose satisfactory interpretation is still a desideratum of Old Norse literary history, mentions in stanza 7 a *Hrómundr*, who, it has been generally assumed, is the identical Gripsson of our saga. This passage gives us unfortunately very little information; it asserts merely that *Hrómundr* was regarded as "*garpr ok slægr*." Of these two adjectives *garpr* is of no consequence, as it can be applied indifferently to any hero, *slægr* is much less general and might be of value, but unfortunately the *Hrómund* of the *rímur* (and there is no reason to suppose that these do not

¹ *Ergänzungsband d. Zeitschr. f. deutsche Philol.* (1874), 3 ff.

² *Corpus poeticum boreale*, II (1883), 363 ff.

³ *Carmina norræna*, I (1886), 73 ff.

⁴ *Smástykkur udgivne af Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, pp. 283 ff., 1889.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

reproduce the lost saga in this respect at least) can under no circumstances whatever be called *slægr*. The possibility that it is another Hrómundr in question or that Hrómundr has come in through a textual or other corruption in place of an original other name, e.g., Helgi,¹ must be considered. But in case we insist that Hrómundr is correct and even in spite of all evidence to the contrary that it is Hrómundr Gripsson and no other the author had in mind, the question must still be considered whether the poem is older than 1250, the *terminus a quo* set by us for the composition of the *lygisaga* of Hrómundr Gripsson. An attempt has been made by Eiríkr Magnússon² to prove that the poem was composed about 1300, and, however much some of his contentions may have been weakened by F. Jónsson's reply,³ the positive weight of the latter's arguments fails to convince one that the poem is not Icelandic,⁴ while the contention of Magnússon that the allusion to Eljarnir (Eleazar) must rest upon knowledge of the *Gyðinga saga* (translation by Bishop Brandr Jónsson of the books of Maccabees shortly after middle of the thirteenth century) can hardly be dismissed so lightly as Jónsson would.⁵ As giving any reliable evidence of the existence of the saga of Hrómundr Gripsson before the middle of the thirteenth century this allusion of the *Málsháttakvæði* may then be discarded, while its application to this saga at all is very doubtful and, in case it be accepted, valueless.

The literary history of the saga of Hrómundr Gripsson is then the following: Hrómundr was the reputed common ancestor of the two first permanent Norwegian settlers in Iceland, Ingólfr and Hjörleifr. Tradition made him out to have been a peasant living in Telemarken, in Norway. Sometime during the latter half of the thirteenth century in Iceland he was made the hero of a fictitious saga (*lygisaga*), an adventure previously ascribed to his great-grandson Hjörleifr suggesting one of the main themes. He was genealogically connected with a hero of the *Hálfs saga*, who had come in the latter part of the thirteenth century to play a leading rôle

¹ Cf. *Helga kviða Hundingsbana*, II, 11.

² *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1888, pp. 323 ff.

³ *Aarbøger*, 1890, pp. 253 ff.

⁴ Cf. Mogk, *Pauls Grundriss*, II², 696, 1902.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

in that saga, and various heroic legends and other literary materials were plundered to fill out the new saga. It became very popular, as frequent allusions, notably that in the *Sturlunga*, show. In the course of the fourteenth century it was drawn upon for material by the author of an *Andra* saga and reached in some way Denmark, where we find it converted into a Danish ballad, which in a later revised form also reached Norway and Sweden. Of this ballad the earliest (Danish) records date from the middle of the sixteenth century. Only in Norway, by a singular coincidence in Telemarken, the home of the original *Hrómundr*, does it appear to have lived on well into the nineteenth century. By the close of the fourteenth century the saga must have received a very material interpolation from a saga whose hero was *Helgi Haddingjaskati*, and this version of the saga was converted into poetic form in the *Griplur* about or shortly after 1400. The *Griplur* lived on through oral transmission for at least a century, as different records of them show, perhaps much longer. With the revival of interest in the older literature which marks the seventeenth century in Iceland, various copies of older MSS were made and a *Hrómundar kvæði* composed, based upon the *rímur*. At about the same time (seventeenth century) a poor copy of the *rímur* formed the basis for a *Hrómundar saga Greipssonar*, which, as well as the *kvæði*, is preserved. In his youthful years the Icelandic poet, Assessor Benedikt Gröndal (1762–1825), is said to have composed *rímur* of *Hrómund Greipsson*,¹ based then apparently upon this seventeenth-century saga, which are, however, not preserved.

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¹ Cf. Sveinbjörn Egilsson, *Kvæði Benedikts Gröndals*, *Viðeyjar Klaustri* (1833), p. iv, footnote 3.